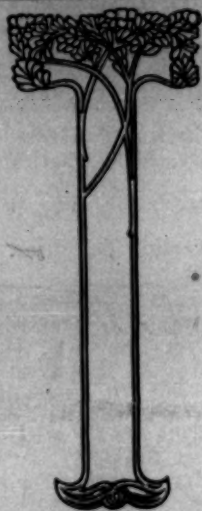


# The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 4  
No. 2



UNENFORCED LAW AND THE  
STAY-AT-HOME VOTE

MODERN FEMINISM AND SEX  
ANTAGONISM

HOW SUFFRAGE IS WORKING  
IN ILLINOIS

CALIFORNIA WOMEN DO  
NOT VOTE

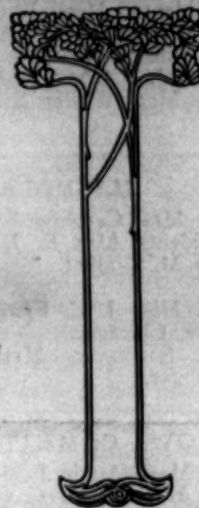
THE TERRORIZING OF  
CANDIDATES

"VOTES FOR MEN"—A MAN'S  
VIEWS

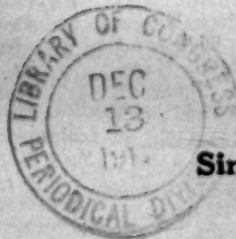
STRONG OPPOSITION IN NEVADA

WHAT MRS. PANKHURST  
ACCOMPLISHED

DECEMBER  
1913



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## UNENFORCED LAW AND THE STAY-AT-HOME VOTE

By JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE

THOSE who oppose votes for women speak for what they believe and are sure to be the great majority of voting age in the country. They oppose it as a movement, in the last analysis, for the deposition of woman from the high place she now occupies and the high services that she now renders in modern society. They stamp it as a measure of social and political retrogression. They know and believe they can show it to be against economic law, against biologic law, against the fundamental law of evolution, and fraught with the most disastrous consequences not only to the State but to the race.

It is against economic law because it proposes to set two persons to do the work of one. With men alone voting, we were tolerably governed. With women alone voting, we should probably, after a period sufficiently long for the accumulation of practical experience, be tolerably governed. There is no more sense in placing the same burden on both than there would be in duplicating labor in any other occupation; a mistake which modern efficiency has set itself resolutely to eliminate.

It is against biologic law and the law of evolution, because nature, in the development of the sexes, has indicated clearly by difference of function what was her intent. All evolution is a process of development from lower to higher by progressive differentiation of organs, indicating and requiring always a corresponding difference of function. Government, business, all human activity bows to this method by progressive specialization. Not the dispersion of work among the largest number, but its assignment to those who can do it best or to whom it seems most appropriate is nature's method. Only in so far as he adheres to it can man hope to win the best results or to gain them most economically.

Nowhere is this differentiation more plainly insisted upon by nature than in the difference between the sexes. The highest and holiest of functions has been set aside irrevocably for woman. Not only does she bear the child, but for months before and for many years afterward she is the controlling formative influence in its life and character. When the word "mother" has ceased to mean all that it has meant in the past, society will begin to disintegrate. This main feature of the "business of being a woman" is incompatible, on the whole, and in the mass, with the complete discharge of the duties of citizenship. One or the other, or both, must suffer.

No reproach is cast upon those who, by choice or through misfortune, miss this womanly occupation. The world and all its doors, education, the professions, art, literature, are open to them. Because they have been denied the greatest of privileges and services let them not demand that other and more distasteful services be thrust upon the great mass of others, who are unwilling to receive them and whose lives are already full to overflowing.

Politically, it is certain that, in so far as the woman vote would make any change, it would be for the worse. Pretty nearly all of the worst political ills of the country arise from two sources: the unenforced law and the stay-at-home vote. It is reasonably certain that the volume of each would be increased under woman suffrage.

The unenforced law is the product of legislation enacted for sentimental reasons or to fit exceptional cases; instead of being, as every law should be, the expressed wish of a decided majority of the whole community. It is certain, by the nature of the case, by woman's susceptibility to the appeal of sentiment and her necessarily less complete familiarity with the working conditions of the law; and it is abundantly proved by the statute books of any State where women have voted in large numbers for any length of time that the number of unenforced laws would be multiplied. Hence increasing disregard for the law and increased opportunity for the arbitrary exercise of public

authority on the one side and favoritism and graft on the other, the form of government would become more and more paternalistic, ending inevitably in bureaucracy; which is the meanest form of despotism existing anywhere.

With men only voting, the absentee on election day is the curse of politics. When a full vote is polled, it is extremely rare that the righteous cause and the deserving man fail to win. Probably a majority of women eligible to the ballot would always be absent from the polls. Statistics of States where votes have been given to women support this view. It is impracticable for very many women to vote, and very many more will refuse to do so on any terms. There will be no neglect on the part of those whose votes are agreed by all to be undesirable. This widens still further the breach in the wall of good government.

But the great and what should be the conclusive objection to the ballot for women is that only a small number of them desire it, while probably the great majority are utterly opposed to it. At any rate, whatever may be one's opinion on this subject, common fairness should prevent any consideration of the extension of the suffrage to women until a majority of them have declared, in an election held expressly to test their opinion on the question, and with women alone voting, that they want it.

The elective franchise is not a privilege, but a burden. Every conscientious man feels it so. It costs time and labor. With more frequent elections and longer ballots the task increases. No good citizen will deny that the ballot, with its necessary preliminary study and activity, is one of the heaviest taxes that he pays to the State for the maintenance of government. Men, who now hold the deciding voice, have no moral right to thrust this work upon protesting women. To do so is monstrous. It is equivalent to the levy of a high tax on a certain class of the community because a few members of that class have asked for it.

The farmer has often been forgotten in general legislation for the benefit of others. Let not the farmer's wife be forgotten in considering the extension of the franchise. For her voting is a hardship too great to be endured. Aside from the preliminary preparation already spoken of, she must go to the polls, often in inclement weather, riding or walking several miles to get there and back. As comparatively few women on farms keep help, the house must be closed and all work be dropped for part or the whole of the day. Any one who knows farm life knows that this is impossible. No granting of the ballot to woman can prevent the actual disfranchisement by circumstances beyond their control of the women who certainly well deserve and are as well qualified as any to use the ballot. This consideration defeated a proposed suffrage law this year in a State where the vote was close.

This array of objections, inconveniences, positive injuries and more than threatened disasters should make men hesitate to consider the extension of the franchise to women even if there were the gravest need for it. There is none. In practically every Western State and in many others, soon in all, woman has every right before the law that man has except that of voting. She has changed the old discriminatory laws into perfect equality of treatment by her influence, without the ballot. It is seriously proposed to grant that at the moment when there is no longer a pretext of need for it. Woman has raised herself, raised man, humanized the race, elevated civilization, by the way of love; by an influence most powerful of all upon husband, father, son and brother; by the law of self-giving instead of self-seeking, that is the highest precept yet enunciated for progress of any kind. She does not, as a whole, wish to change her functions or her methods. Those who propose to foist upon her a change so disastrous to her, to man and to society, should meet with a determined and final refusal. It is not too much to say that the future of humanity itself demands it.



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Vol. IV.

December, 1913

No. 2

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

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THE following letter was sent out in the early spring by the members of the Anti-Suffrage Committee to the women's clubs belonging to the New York State Federation:

DEAR MADAM:

The Anti-Suffrage Committee of the New York State Federation of Clubs, realizing that active discussion of the subject of suffrage is liable to stir up division of opinion in individual Clubs, thereby diminishing their usefulness in the large interest of Progress and Reform, suggest, that for the present, the subject shall not be introduced in Clubs, organized for general good work.

Our Club Movement is too fine and valuable a thing to be destroyed by discussion of a subject that we already know is to be left to the voters in the near future.

Please for the present make all your discussion of a private and not of a Club nature. If next year you wish to bring up the question this Committee will be prepared to furnish speakers on the side *against* the subject if you will apply to the Chairman.

We ask this in the interests of what we believe to be the real good of women's clubs. This request naturally does not apply to Clubs formed for the express purpose of studying the subject of suffrage.

Yours very truly,

MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, *Chairman*  
MISS ALICE H. NEAFIE  
MRS. CHARLES S. DENISON  
MRS. CHARLES H. STECKER  
MRS. ROBERT MCVICKAR

At the state convention of the Federation, held in Buffalo, in November, the report of the Anti-Suffrage Committee was read by Mrs. Dodge. The full report is given because it is applicable to the Federated Women's Clubs in every state.

## REPORT OF ANTI-SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE.

The constitution of our State Federation of Women's Clubs declares that the object of the Federation is "to bring into relations of mutual helpfulness the various clubs of women throughout the State, and to make combined action possible when deemed expedient." This "mutual helpfulness" and "combined action" have been powerful factors in crystallizing public opinion because we have not been divided into political camps, but have sought to promote the public good and have taken no heed for political expediency.

Therefore it was a wise provision in the constitution of many clubs that the discussion of religious and political subjects should be barred from those clubs. On these questions there is room for reasonable difference of opinion, and club discussion of the same sows the seeds of dissension and of discord. On matters of true Progress and Reform there can be no difference of opinion save possibly as to the means of securing the results

which all good women are agreed are desirable to obtain.

The solidarity of Women's Clubs has been their distinguishing feature. That solidarity is now attacked by the politics of woman suffrage. The discussion of that subject tends to array women in opposite camps and to hinder their co-operation in work ready at their hand to-day, because of the division into party lines.

The question of Woman Suffrage will doubtless go to the voters of New York in the near future. Meantime the women of the State have ample opportunity to inform themselves on both sides of the question through the educational work undertaken by the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, without bringing this discussion to the clubs and jeopardizing our solidarity as women working together for the common good. To the solution of the question each woman is in honor bound to bring a clear mind, a tolerant heart and a serene temper. Let her take these to assemblies which are called for the express purpose of discussion of the suffrage question, but let clubs carefully consider the consequences before they introduce the subject into their program. If either side of the question, however, is given a hearing, it is urged that, in the spirit of fair play, both sides shall be heard, though preferably not in the form of a debate, since that form of address tends to give much heat and little light.

The Association of which I am a delegate is ready to furnish speakers against suffrage to all clubs that decide to discuss the subject or have already heard only the suffrage side. For the same reason that we oppose introducing the discussion of Woman Suffrage in our clubs we oppose introducing politics into women's social activities. The only thing which holds the Suffragists together to-day is their common desire for the vote. If enfranchised, they will divide into Republicans and Democrats and Socialists and Progressives precisely as the men do, and that division means the throwing aside of one of the great instruments by which women have wrought their achievements for the public welfare in the past years, that is their non-partisanship. "Our great modern group of trained women is an impressive power, through the purity of its methods and its integrity and disinterestedness of intention. It represents, as does nothing else in our civilization, the organization of a coherent group, whose power is not counterbalanced by ignorance or self-seeking partisanship. This great body can move on as an intrinsic force debarred from all temptation to serve party. If woman becomes a voter she will have thrown away an entirely original attempt to create in the State a great group, which through its intelligence, its untemptedness will be the most enormous power to reckon with that the politician and the man of personal ambition will ever have faced"—so speaks the woman who blazed the way for the Woman's Auxiliary to the Civil Service Reform Committee and such, we feel, must be the final judgment of the clubwomen of New York, when they realize that success has come to them because they were *not in politics*, and that if *all women* are to go into politics the State must lose that quality which to-day gives women's work its distinction, the quality of disinterested service for the public good untainted by personal political ambition.

A LARGE delegation of women, representing 100,000 members of State organizations Opposed to Woman Suffrage, appeared before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C., on December 4th, to protest against the recommendation of the appointment of a Suffrage Committee in the House.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage presided and introduced the twenty speakers. Mr. Joseph Gilpin Pyle, of St. Paul, Minn., was prevented from appearing as he had expected and a paper embodying his arguments was read. This is published in full in this issue. A full account of the hearing and excerpts from all the speeches will be given in the January PROTEST.



## MODERN FEMINISM AND SEX ANTAGONISM

IN an article in *The Living Age*, of September 6, 1913, reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, Ethel Colquhoun summarizes the views expressed in a number of recent books and comments thereon, her article being entitled "Modern Feminism and Sex Antagonism."

Liberal excerpts follow:

The average man was not aware of feminism until the persistent advertising methods of the militant suffragette focussed attention on the woman movement. Now he is uncomfortably conscious of something stirring in the other sex which makes for change—exactly what kind of change neither sex seems to know; but it is certain that, in the words of Mr. Heape [in his book on "Sex Antagonism"] "man's opinion of woman has been definitely modified; his attitude towards her as an integral component of society can never be the same again." On the other hand, the woman's attitude to man has suffered (in certain classes of society) a no less definite modification; and the result is a somewhat acute phase in the long conflict of the sexes.

\* \* \* \* \*

Feminism, like socialism, is difficult to confine within the boundaries of a formula. Mr. W. L. George in "Woman and Tomorrow" has done what is possible in this direction. Feminism, he says, is, broadly, the furthering of the interests of woman, philosophically the leveling of the sexes, and specifically the social and political emancipation of woman. Broadly, therefore, many writers, such as Ruskin or Dr. J. L. Taylor, are feminists, though they accept neither the philosophy nor its specific application; while a large number of writers with a feminist bias, from Montaigne to Mazzini, might have accepted the philosophy but would probably have hesitated over the specific application of their theories. The modern feminist, particularly the female feminist, is distinguished by her attempt to reduce these theories and generalities to everyday practice. In pursuit of this aim she may be forced to break off relations with the other sex, she may view the privileges of her sex as badges of degradation, and she may, in the pursuit of spiritual and political emancipation, find it necessary to place herself on the level of male criminals.

\* \* \* \* \*

Rosa Mayreder speaks of progressive persons as those who live their lives in freedom "undisturbed by the opinion or conduct of the society to which they belong." The woman movement is to her "the battle for the rights of an unfettered personality." Woman, says the Swedish feminist, Ellen Key, has suddenly discovered that instead of moving forward, as heretofore, only in and with the general progress, she can increase her own motion by self-assertion. "To-day young girls live to apply the principle of the woman movement—individualism." These words are significant when we remember the reiterated feminist claim that women must be free to "live their own lives," to "develop their personality," instead of being merged in the family and regarded only as a part of it.

\* \* \* \* \*

A favorite argument for those who feel it necessary to explain woman's comparatively few achievements in the world of art and science is to assert that her mentality has been suppressed by man—that she has had neither education nor opportunity. As some of the greatest work done by men has been accomplished in the teeth of exactly these difficulties, the argument does not carry us far, but there is really no agreement among feminists on this point.

\* \* \* \* \*

The first concentration of feminist efforts on a practical basis is found in the struggle which opened for women the door to higher education and levelled up the teaching of girls and boys. Sixty years ago, when the fight was beginning, there was an exaggerated belief in the value of book-learning, not only among

women but among those who looked forward to an "educated democracy." Hitherto book-learning had been confined to a small minority of the nation; and among these the line between the sexes had gradually become markedly favorable to men. Colleges, schools and endowments, originally intended for both sexes, were restricted to one; and women specialized more and more in those arts and crafts which had their centre in the home. Nevertheless the women of the upper classes certainly acquired somehow a culture which made them quite as interesting and interested as any college-bred girl of to-day. Read the letters, not even of the brilliant French women of the 18th century salons, but of the country-bred English women of the late 18th and early 19th centuries—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Frances Lady Shelley, Lady Elizabeth Coke, Lady Sarah Spencer Lyttleton, Lady Dorothy Nevill—not "blue-stockings," but ordinary society women, and you will find in them not only a keen appreciation of the events of their own time, but a humorous judgment and a critical faculty applied to books, music, and the conversation of their friends. How many a young society lady of to-day, writing lively and entertaining letters to a midshipman brother, would recommend for his reading Sully's "Memories," or quote Madame de Staël? When we are estimating the gains and losses from the point of view of feminine advancement of the last half-century, we may well ask ourselves whether, among the hosts of clever women-writers of to-day, there are any names worthy to be placed beside those of Jane Austen, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, George Eliot, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Browning, and Mrs. Gaskell; and yet these are all middle-class women of a period which is supposed to have seen a complete eclipse in female education.

\* \* \* \* \*

Without attempting to dogmatize on the vexed question of sex, it may be stated that both maleness and femaleness are inherited by each individual, the dominance of the one over the other determining the sex. Masculine qualities are not uncommon in women, nor feminine ones in men, but on what biological grounds is it assumed that the best type of female must approximate most closely to the male? And why should it be taken for granted that the world has no use for the characteristically feminine mentality? It is not a question of inferiority and superiority, but of difference in kind and function. There is no more startling evidence that modern women have got out of touch with reality than the low opinion some of them profess to entertain of their own natural functions, qualities, and place in society. The writer has heard a very clever and thoughtful woman regret that, although she had found great happiness in marriage and maternity, her engagement had cut short a promising academic career which might have opened out to original work. "After all," she said, "anyone can have children!" At a famous high-school, some years ago, the news of the early marriage of a favorite old pupil was met with the comment, "What a waste!" To Rosa Mayreder ["A Survey of the Woman Problem"] maternity is merely woman's handicap in the march of progress. Curiously enough, the subtlety of the feminine mind is able to find something meritorious in the performance of these lowly duties, so that she who submits to them is sometimes considered to be heroically sacrificing her higher possibilities on the altar of the family. We shall see presently to what conclusion this habit of mind leads in the studies of an advanced feminist.

The prominence and admiration gained in public spheres nowadays by the child-free woman have created a spurious standard; and many women who would otherwise have been contented with their natural functions are utterly demoralized by the glare and glitter of the careers of their "free and independent" sisters. Three factors keep the truth from coming out. First, the novelty of these careers has still glamor enough to blind those who fol-



## THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

low them; secondly, they are too proud to confess, if they feel the emptiness of life; and thirdly, if Miss Cicely Hamilton is to be believed, we are really witnessing the development of a neuter sex, to which these women may belong. The "efficiency" of such women is the subject of panegyrics by their own sex. In any case, the average housekeeping, motherly type of woman is now inclined to under-value her own work and sphere, and to believe that her brilliant unmarried or childless sister, who writes or speaks or does political, professional, or social work, is more useful, is having a "fuller life," than the mere wife and mother. It is a question of values.

\* \* \* \* \*

The question of the mutual influence of modern education and the feminist movement is too wide to be fully discussed here, nor is there any intention, on the part of the writer, to condemn wholesale either the present system or the women it has produced. No one wishes to stereotype any kind of man or woman. Social changes require adaptation on the part of both sexes. What is striking to an observer is the reflection that, while men seem to be fitting in fairly comfortably to the conditions of modern life, seeking and finding careers over seas when no opening presents itself at home, growing steadier and more sober to meet the demands of a democratic society, women, on the contrary, are growing to be more and more at issue with their environment. The adaptability of the college-bred man in the colonies is a good illustration. He has been brought up as softly as his sister, yet whereas he can cheerfully start life again at the bottom of the social ladder by cleaning pigsties or ploughing fields, she can seldom face either the physical strain or the mental isolation involved by pioneer life. If these difficulties had not been faced by the women of an earlier generation, our empire would have been considerably smaller. Whatever boons higher education has brought to women, it does not seem to give them that elasticity of mind and body and that deftness of hand which make the truly adaptable person. Nor, if feminist writers are to be believed, has it brought them happiness. The despised Victorian woman, if one's recollections of her as an old lady are to be trusted, found a spiritual satisfaction in life which many of her grand-daughters seem to miss.

There is no need to elaborate the subject of the present discontent of women. The suffrage agitation is its keenest witness. If we listen to the arguments of suffragists, it is obvious that their emotion is altogether out of proportion to the grievance they advance. They fasten, it is true, upon the most terrible features of woman's life—the White Slave or the sweated worker; but it is frequently obvious that they know nothing of either, and that they have no clear idea of the remedies they would themselves apply to these evils. A passion of pity for their sex surges through them, for they choose to regard both classes of women as victims to man's cruelty.

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But beyond this vicarious suffering they have a difficulty in explaining exactly what is wrong with them, and yet their faces are witnesses to mental distress of no slight order. The banner of revolt against man has enlisted many women who have never received anything but kindness and consideration, and attracts to-day many young girls who know nothing of social evils or sweated workers. "Why," asks Dr. Taylor, "when the young girl's mind opens out to the womanly, does a feeling of discontent with womanliness and its opportunities tend to rise?"

Such surface manifestations as the franchise agitation, the demand for increased occupational facilities, for a wider domestic horizon or for entire freedom from domestic duties—all these are only superficial expressions of something deeper. Olive Schreiner speaks of "... dis-co-ordination, struggle and consequent suffering which undoubtedly do exist when we regard the world of sexual relations and ideals." But the most significant utterance comes from an American sociologist of strong feminist sympathies, Mr. Thomas, who says:

"Modern woman is in . . . a condition of constraint and unrest, which produces organic ravages for which no luxury can compensate. The American woman of the better classes has superior rights and no duties, and yet she is worrying herself to death—not over specific troubles, but because she has lost her connection with reality."

The essential truth of this statement is borne out by an accumulated weight of feminist evidence. In contact with the facts of nature, the truths of life, feminist philosophy breaks down utterly, or lands us in a quagmire of absurdities like Mrs. Gilman's picture of the home of the future, in which father and mother are equally concerned (or unconcerned), going off daily to their work and returning at night to find the house has been skillfully dealt with by "experts," while the baby has spent an improving day in the communal nursery. Everyone knows such homes, but no one, before Mrs. Gilman, had ventured to think them ideal. Before the elementary facts of maternity and woman's physiological needs such a vision fades at once, or remains only as a "horrid warning" of what feminists mean by "sex equality." But, apart from such unattractive Utopias, feminist literature offers little to women as a solution of their difficulties. It will be seen that all these difficulties—the educational, social or economic—lead back to the starting-point of society—the relationship of the sexes. It is this which conditions all woman's activities.

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The feminist demand for increased occupational facilities for women is based on the undoubted fact that women of certain classes have lost the sphere that once was theirs, through no fault of their own, and that, owing to economic pressure they are already invading other spheres which in recent times, at all events, have been reserved to men. The claim set forward is for the removal of all "artificial barriers"—"We claim all labor as our sphere," says Olive Schreiner—and for the recognition of woman as an economic equal and copartner in the support of the home, in which her duties shall be neither more or less than those of the man. Such a conception of conjugal relations would obviously involve the recasting of our social system—no great evil in itself—and (what is more important) the reorganization of home and family life on a new basis.

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The question of sex-relations is dealt with from a psychological point of view by Frau Rosa Mayreder, whose book is the most interesting exposition of feminist views which has come under the observation of the present writer. Its value lies, not so much in the arguments set forth, as in the glimpse it affords of the more cultivated type of feminist mind. The main thesis is the non-existence, outside of the realm of primary physical characteristics, of any dividing line between male and female qualities, and the possibility, on a mental plane, of complete sex-ignoring comradeship between men and women. Not that Frau Mayreder believes women to be at present the intellectual equals of man; but when "the battle of a free personality," which she envisages as the Woman's movement, is won, there will be a field in which woman will be "neither above nor below man in communities wherein the sexual differentiation has as little to do with intellectual as with physical superiority."

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It is significant that, in the whole of a book which gives evidence of great research and synthetic powers above the ordinary, the simplest and most important fact in the whole woman problem should be deliberately shirked. Frau Mayreder spends many words in proving that so-called sex characteristics are conventional or artificial. She touches on biogenetical research and the theories of many philosophers, but she treats the central fact of woman's existence as though it could be controlled at will. She fails to recognize that the whole story of woman's difference from man does not begin and end with sex relations, but that physiological modifications of an active character are



continually affecting her, whatever may be her mode of life.

The fundamental error, which the clever German feminist, Frau Mayreder, shares with others far less broadminded, is that she persistently underestimates the part played by her own sex in building up those social values which are the foundation of civilization. It is, in fact, essential for the feminist position to represent man as dictating the terms of sex intercourse; but this he can only do under environmental conditions of a particular kind; and to understand the present discontent of woman it is essential to consider her, not apart from her sex functions, but in relation to them and to her environment.

An interesting analogy is drawn by Mr. Heape between the position of primitive woman, in environments of hardship, comfort, and luxury, and that occupied by her sex under similar conditions not only in different periods of history, but in our own day in the three different classes of the very poor, the moderately well off, and the luxurious. From the biological point of view, it may be added, the large majority of our so-called middle-class women live in luxury. It is in the class or race which has comfort but not luxury that women, whether in primitive or modern times, secure the most favorable environment, and becomes, in fact, the dominant partner—a theory which seems to find a striking illustration in the position of women among the French *bourgeoisie*.

\* \* \* \* \*

Despite the influence wielded at certain periods of history by women of the non-maternal type, from the courtesan on the one hand to the ascetic on the other, the dominant social power has hitherto rested in the hands of matrons and mothers, and the rise of spinsters as a class apart, wielding great social power and shaping the minds of girls and young women, is a factor of the utmost importance in modern feminism. Sex antagonism, hitherto, has had its origin in the encroaching demands made by the one sex upon the other, and, in the Western world, has been focussed in woman's effort to secure a dominant position in the regulation of marriage and sex laws. The introduction of a third class, celibate women, no longer cloistered, but demanding to share man's occupations and prerogatives and to influence sex laws and relations while neither desiring nor granting such relations themselves, is a twentieth century development of the oldest problem in the world.

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A brief survey of the feminist position can touch only on

outstanding features; and, because the writer does not find much promise in feminist remedies for social problems, it does not follow that she sees no need for improvement in the condition of her sex. On the contrary, she believes that a great portion of it, having parted with fundamental truths and realities, is drifting rapidly towards an *impasse*. Undoubtedly a great deal of modern woman's dissatisfaction with life is due to the fact that she has at once fewer duties and responsibilities and more power and license than are truly normal. Her energy runs to waste. Modern social conditions, moreover, imposing a heavy economic burden on man, react unfavorably on woman, who, curiously enough, is inclined under conditions of luxury to shirk even her sexual duties. Married life becomes increasingly expensive, despite the shrinkage in families, which is usually represented as woman's involuntary sacrifice on the altar of an imperious economic necessity. As a matter of fact it is more often the family and the interests of the State which are sacrificed on the altar of woman's standard of ease and comfort—a standard in which man readily acquiesces. The demand for increased vocational facilities for women has its origin in a real lack of vital and interesting occupations, as well as in economic pressure, but it is also interwoven with the neglect, denial or delegation of distinctively feminine duties and with the false scale of social values created by modern female education.

The true woman's movement must be one which, recognizing the principle of a natural division of duties between the sexes, aims at strengthening the woman in her normal, natural sphere, and developing her along the lines suggested by her sex needs and characteristics. We do not know as yet, because the experiment has not yet been made, to what heights woman might not rise under such conditions. Many social and educational reforms would be needed to secure such an environment, but the first essential is a sound ideal. So far the "advanced sisters" do not seem to have got beyond the pioneers of the Victorian age, who conceived of woman as "undeveloped man."

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No scheme of salvation for women can be worked out which is not involved in the salvation of man, or rather of the trinity of man, woman and child, which is, for sociological purposes, one and indivisible. The book which views the feminist movement from this point of view has yet to be written.

Ethel Colquhoun.

## HOW SUFFRAGE IS WORKING IN ILLINOIS

(Mrs. Medill McCormick is one of the four women who "lobbied" the suffrage measure through the Illinois legislature. Mr. Medill McCormick, also a suffragist, owns *The Chicago Tribune* from which the clippings in this article are taken.)

**S**HORTLY after the Illinois legislature granted partial suffrage to women, Charlotte C. Rhodus wrote in the *Chicago Tribune*:

"The women of Cook County are proud of their new privilege and are not only willing but anxious to exercise the right to vote given to them by the legislature and Gov. Dunne."

This was, of course, the basis on which the franchise was bestowed. Let us see if it was a suffrage assertion or a fact.

The *Chicago Tribune* of July 27th said:

"In three local elections throughout Illinois since the passage of the Woman Suffrage Bill less than 10 per cent. of the women have taken advantage of their right to the ballot. *Lack of interest in local conditions* is attributed as the cause by the Suffrage leaders. It is declared, however, that when the women see the advantage to be gained by voting the returns will show a larger percentage of women voters."

"In the most recent election, in Geneva (Ill.), where the women had advocated the establishment of a free kindergarten in the town, only 180 out of 600 clubwomen went to the polls, and the kindergarten measure was defeated."

"It was said that women who had been loudest in their demands for the right to vote were the ones when the time

came who failed to appear. All manner of excuses were offered by the scores of women who were urged to go to the polls."

This has been the attitude of the women in all of the elections that have been held since the passage of the Suffrage Bill."

But later there is announced a plan to get out the "woman vote." We read:

"The church organizations of Chicago are uniting for instruction of woman voters. E. J. Davis of the Anti-Saloon league announced the project last night."

"There are 1,002 churches in Chicago, with 350,000 members," he said. "One-half of that number are voters, and the majority of them are women. Church women are strong for law and order and decency. Their vote will be against the liquor interests."

"The organization of this large voting force of women is expected to counteract the plans of the United Societies. Officers of that organization recently announced they intended organizing the wives and daughters of their members to vote for self-government and 'personal liberty.'"

Thus it becomes a question as to whether the liquor interests or the church people will get out more of the "woman vote." Experience has taught politicians that the "interested" vote is easier polled.

About this time Miss Jane Addams, addressing a meeting called to promote the "Women's 54-hour-a-week" bill, told of



what women had accomplished without the vote. She said:

"We began the legislative fight for shorter working hours for women in the winter 1892-93 when the only labor legislation was practically that relating to the miners. The first action was persuading the legislature to investigate sweat-shop conditions in Chicago, and I think the result surprised Chicago as well as the law-makers. We won a child labor law and an eight-hour law for women, subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. This was passed during an outburst of enthusiasm, such as sometimes causes legislators to forget the vested interests at home and think only of humanity."

Perhaps it was this reference to the Supreme Court which directed the attention of Chicago Suffragists to the forthcoming election of a judge in the Fifth District of Illinois, one of seven men who will constitute the final Court of Appeals in Illinois for the next five years.

The Suffragists sought to sound the attitude of the three candidates—Republican, Progressive and Democratic—on Woman Suffrage and "the wet-and-dry question."

"How will you vote on these questions in case you are elected?" each candidate was asked. A pledge was sought of each.

On October 16th we read in the *Chicago Tribune*:

Peoria, Ill., Oct. 15.—[Special.]—Two of the four women who worked hardest for the suffrage bill in Springfield last winter—Mrs. Medill McCormick and Mrs. Sherman Booth—opened fire to-day upon Leslie D. Puterbaugh, Republic nominee for Supreme court justice in the Fifth district, in his home town of Peoria.

Mrs. George T. Page, one of the most prominent women of Peoria, candidate for State regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution at the State convention of that organization in Quincy next week and an important factor in the suffrage movement in central Illinois, took strong ground against the statements of Mrs. McCormick.

Mrs. McCormick urged on the women the necessity of immediate organization in behalf of Mr. Shay (Suffrage-Progressive candidate). She said the women had found nothing for or against Colonel Craig (Democratic candidate). She said that the record of Mr. Puterbaugh had been pro-corporation and asserted that 190 cases heard by him had been determined in favor of corporations. The intimation was made that Mr. Puterbaugh's course on the Supreme bench might be determined by his personal alliances or disposition. At this point Mrs. Page's ire was aroused. This is what Mrs. Page says she stated in explicit terms:

"I have known Mr. Puterbaugh for twenty-six years. He has lived here in Peoria and has been in active life during all the time that I have known him. I know his father, and I know his relationship to the bench and bar of Peoria and of central Illinois.

"I wish to say," she added, "that the women of Peoria have known Mr. Puterbaugh much longer than five days. We have known him as a wonderful son and a worthy successor of his father. We have known of his care for his mother and we know of his personal life, and for one feel that it is outside the proprieties, political or otherwise, for his personality to be

subjected to such an attack, and for one I wish to express my resentment."

Here is evidence that women in politics consider personalities above principles. The campaign was an intensely personal one. The Suffragists were no longer treated as women but as politicians. We read in the *Tribune*:

The attack of Senator Dailey upon the women campaigners was based, he said, upon the theory that they had entered the district as *politicians*, purely and simply, and that it was proper, as a political proposition, to "fight fire with fire." In his speech to the Republican precinct committeemen he said:

"The highest testimonial to the character and fitness of Judge Puterbaugh is the fact that almost every member of the Peoria bar has signed a petition recommending him to the voters of this district."

That this introduction of political beliefs into the election of a judge is fraught with great danger is the editorial opinion of the *Chicago Tribune*, which says:

While Mr. Shay, the Progressive nominee, is receiving support on the theory that he has prejudged the woman suffrage bill and bound himself to vote for it on the Supreme bench, and Mr. Craig is close to the anti-suffrage-liquor interests, Mr. Puterbaugh has acted in the way which the *Tribune* thinks is the only way for a candidate for the bench to act, and has refused to give judgment on a case upon which he has not heard the arguments or read the briefs.

In advocating Mr. Shay's candidacy, his supporters are appealing to an existing antagonism toward the courts because of certain mistaken and over-technical decisions in matters mainly constitutional.

This discontent overlooks the fact that very few of the criticised decisions were made in Illinois, and overlooks the fact that the bulk of the judicial rejections of legislative enactments have been clearly beneficial and correct.

Criticism of the courts is proper in a free country. It has been a mistake to oppose it.

The introduction, however, of political beliefs into the election of a judge is fraught with great danger.

Cases of public policy are very few; much less than 1 per cent. of those heard in court. To elect a man because of his ruling on one political case, although he is not well qualified to pass on nine hundred out of a thousand nonpolitical cases, would be an act of folly and an offense against the rights of citizens.

It is generally conceded that the election lies between Mr. Puterbaugh and Mr. Craig, and that the votes which Mr. Shay draws will be drawn from Mr. Puterbaugh, and if in sufficient numbers will cause the election of Mr. Craig.

The effect of the Progressive local tickets a year ago was the election of a horde of undesirables, and while Mr. Craig certainly cannot be classed as an undesirable, he is clearly not qualified by education or experience for the great office of Supreme judge.

Yet it was Mr. Craig who was elected! The moral is too obvious even to be drawn. Let us quote the *Tribune*:

"We are learning in Illinois, and particularly in Cook County, that *under whatever motive or impulse we vote*, we have to live under the officials whole election is thereby brought about."

## How Eager California Women are to Vote!

(*San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 23, 1913)

**I**T turns out that but 49,833 women out of the vast number who inhabit this city took the trouble to register for the recent election, and of those who did register but 19,678 went to the polls.

Of course, the day was showery, but no one who heard the perfervid demands of women for their sacred rights to the ballot during the campaign for equal suffrage would have imagined that weather calculated to take the crimps out of the hair would keep those suffering citizens at home.

The men were neglectful enough—much too neglectful, in fact—but nevertheless 52,873 men out of about 97,000 registered did spunk up and go to the polls and vote. And there are no more gentleman citizens than lady citizens in the city. If the standard of good citizenship is fulfilment of civic duty we fear that our citizenesses will have to confess that they are far down in the scale.

There is, of course, another and more cheerful view. It may be claimed, and certainly the *Chronicle* will never dispute it, that the women are so much better endowed with robust common sense than the men that more of them refuse to be continually dragged from their homes, their Christmas shopping and the exigencies of bridge to go to elections which should never be held. True our latest election would seem to be one of the necessary elections, and the general refusal of the women to bother with it may be regarded as a particularly emphatic expression of their disgust at the continuous uproar.

The *Chronicle* prefers to take that view, and congratulates the lady voters that in at least one precinct in the city every registered woman protested by not appearing at all, and that in forty-nine precincts there were less than ten women who voted. We are likely to get fewer elections.



## The Terrorizing of Candidates by Suffragists

THE reverend Anna M. Shaw, suffragette, preacher, lecturer, and miscellaneous agitator, announces a plan on behalf of herself and others like-minded to go into the congressional districts of the country and make war upon any candidate for Congress who will not pledge himself to support woman's suffrage. Miss Shaw does not propose to discriminate against men who are sentimentally opposed to her views; she doesn't care anything about their sentiments, but plans merely to reduce to obedience to the will of the suffragists any and every man aspiring to Congress. Here we have illustrated a principle which must soon practically eliminate from Congress every man of real character. If acceptance, with or without conviction, of every particular purpose or fad which finds organized support in the country is to be essential to membership in Congress, then our Congress must soon be filled up with creatures whose attitude is a parody of that of the weathercock toward the wind. Does Miss Shaw in her enthusiasm imagine that there can be any advantage in woman suffrage secured through this kind of intrigue that will compensate for the deterioration in the mind and character of Congress which her plan would produce?

This projected campaign leads to significant reflections connected with the movement for woman's suffrage. While, regarded from the standpoint of principle or from that of expediency, it is a subject of very grave doubt, none the less it seems to the *Argonaut* destined to be successful throughout the country. And for this reason: To oppose woman's suffrage under any circumstances is, in the present posture of affairs, to incur penalties. While on the other hand to favor it involves no penalties. The suffragists in their enthusiasm and general recklessness are

disposed to "punish" any and every man aspiring to public office—likewise every editor—who does not sustain their cause. Those opposed to suffrage or doubtful about it have no such intensity of feeling. Regarding it as an incidental and minor interest, they do not subordinate all things to it. In other words, a candidate who frankly opposes or doubts suffrage will lose many votes; while one who supports suffrage does not thereby lose any votes. The logic is irresistible. All candidates for office excepting very few of unusual honesty and independence will declare themselves for suffrage and thus practically range themselves in support of the movement.

Any careful consideration of Miss Shaw's plan to impose conditions upon congressional candidates, with its promise of penalization for all who decline to give pledges in support of the movement for suffrage, exhibits it as even more serious in its practical relations to the public welfare than the methods devised and approved by our sweet-hearted national guest, Mrs. Emmaline Pankhurst. Bomb-throwing, letter-destroying, window-breaking, horse-whipping and arson may indeed be matters subject to criticism on the part of conservatism and overrefinement. But the operation of them is brief; there comes an end to them. But to establish a permanent terrorism in the political sphere is to inaugurate a system that must break down the character of all candidates for office and in the end give us in the public life of the country weak-fibred and subservient creatures only. For under this rule no man of independent mind, no man of decent self-respect, will be a candidate for any office. It would be sad truly if a movement which loudly vaunts its purpose to moralize the politics of the country should be the direct cause of its abasement and degradation.—(From *The Argonaut*.)

## "Raise the Level of Individual Morality"

THESE quotations are taken from an article by Theodore Roosevelt on the New York Police, which appeared in *The Outlook*, July 26, 1913.

"The prime need is to raise the level of individual morality; and, moreover, to encourage early marriages and a strict sense of reciprocal conjugal obligation. The women who preach late marriages are by just so much making it difficult to better the standard of chastity." \* \* \*

"As for the wretched girls who follow the dreadful trade in question, a good deal can be done by a change in economic conditions. This ought to be done. When girls are paid wages inadequate to keep them from starvation, or to permit them to live decently, a certain proportion are forced by their economic misery into lives of vice. The employers and all others responsible for these conditions stand on a moral level not far above the white slavers themselves. But it is a mistake to suppose that either the correction of these economic conditions or the abolition of the white slave trade will wholly correct the evil or will even reach the major part of it. As with so many other problems, while there must be governmental action, there must also be strengthening of the average individual character in order to achieve the desired end. Even where economic conditions are bad, girls who are both strong and pure will remain unaffected by temptations to which girls of weak character or lax standards readily yield. Any man who knows the wide variation in the proportions of the different races and nationalities engaged in prostitution must come to the conclusion that it is out of the question to treat economic conditions as the sole conditions or even as the chief conditions that determine this question. There are certain races—the Irish are honorably conspicuous among them—which, no matter what the economic pressure, furnish very few inmates of houses of ill fame. I do not believe that the differences are due to permanent race characteristics; this is shown by the fact that the best settlement houses find that prac-

tically all their "long-term graduates," so to speak, all the girls that come for a long period under their influence, no matter what their race or national origin, remain pure. In every race there are some naturally vicious individuals and some weak individuals who readily succumb under economic pressure. A girl who is lazy hates hard work, a girl whose mind is rather feeble, who is of "subnormal intelligence," as the phrase now goes, or a girl who craves cheap finery and vapid pleasures, is always in danger. A high ideal of personal purity is essential. Where the same pressure under the same economic condition has tenfold the effect on one set of people that it has on another, it is evident that the question of moral standards is even more important than the question of economic standards, very important though this question is. It is important for us to remember that the girl ought to have the chance, not only for the necessities of life, but for innocent pleasure; and that even more than the man she must not be broken by overwork, by excessive toil. Moreover, public opinion and the law should combine to hunt down the "flagrant man swine," who himself hunts down poor or silly unprotected girls. But we must not in foolish sentimentality excuse the girl from her duty to keep herself pure. Our duty to achieve the same moral level for the two sexes must be performed by raising the level for the man, not by lowering it for the woman; and the fact that society must recognize its duty in no shape or way relieves, not even to the smallest degree, the individual from doing his or her duty. Sentimentality which grows maudlin on behalf of the willful prostitute is a curse; to confound her with the entrapped or coerced girl, the real white slave, is both foolish and wicked. There are evil women just as there are evil men, naturally depraved girls just as there are naturally depraved young men; and the right and wise thing, the just thing, to them, and the generous thing to innocent girls and decent men, is to wage stern war against the evil creatures of both sexes."



## "Votes for Men," a Man's View of Anti-Suffrage

"**V**OTES for Men" by an anonymous author, has just appeared from the house of Duffield & Co. The title itself is refreshing, and will bring a gleam of hope to many discouraged masculine "human beings" who are beginning to think that there is nothing left for them but the darning bag. It is a small book, selling for fifty cents, and the cover has the words—"It's up to you, Son, says Uncle Sam."

The author knows his own mind, and states his position in the language of the market-place. It is vigorous, straight-forward, slangy—yes, all of these, and as the stage people say, "it gets over the footlights." The man's standpoint is frankly stated: "If you're the average man, you're only rather sore at the whole business," and then the author endeavors to put his case so all kinds of men will listen to him.

It is distinctly not a woman's book, but a man's, and therein lies hope also. The force of the book is in the fact that it is a frank argument from the biological standpoint, and the biological argument is a very great and important one, which, except by physicians and scientists, has never been given due consideration.

The "dangerous age" is made the basis of sound reasoning, which in a few trenchant sentences shows conclusively the falsity of the ridiculous assumption that women can ever be men's equal in political and industrial strife—just because of the simple and inexorable laws of physical being.

"In short," the discussion ends, "for a great part of woman's life she should have freedom, not only from hard work, but from worry and strife. If there is one thing that will destroy a woman's physical vigor it is contention and anger, the life of competition and struggle—it is now destroying women, and through them the race, since woman's entrance into the economic struggle. Why add to this by permitting her to destroy herself in the political struggle as well? Why add one evil to another?"

"Woman cannot enter into any fair competition—physical, mental or economic—with men. She has a right to be protected because she can't live a normal woman's life without protection."

The argument of "force behind the ballot" is clearly put, and the statement of how little women are able to purify politics is terse and telling.

The author waxes indignant at the charge that women are needed in the electorate to protect women and children, and points out the constant and increasing endeavor of men to com-

pass remedial legislation for industrial ills. One sentence carries instant conviction: "The great illusion about woman's superior goodness is only man's passionate desire that she *should* be good."

Another true note is this: "Her responsibility to the child is increasing, not lessening. The question of the child is the great ethical question we are facing—the future of the child. And in comparison with it \* \* \* the question of suffrage fades into absolute insignificance." Woman as an educator, a former of public opinion, far overbalances, in the author's opinion, any possible value a woman might have as a political unit. The suffragists reply that women can easily do both. The fact remains that in carrying matters to logical conclusion, one position will always preclude the other.

The dozen or more pages devoted to an earnest plea for motherhood and children is the sort of a plea that right minded men are always voicing, because right minded men realize that just here is the fountain head of all the strength of the State, and that any work which woman puts above motherhood and child training is bad in that it deals a blow at a fundamental element in the nation's safety.

Rather slashingly is all this said, with small regard for the "after you, Alphonse" idea of polite statement. But for all that it is *true* and just now we are bitterly in need of the truth—the truth about women, even if it be not all sugar-coated, even if we, as women, do not accept quite all the sweeping arraignments which with great moral earnestness, the author makes.

Moral earnestness and conviction are carrying powers, and the book has both. The statement on "athletic womanhood" might have emanated from a plain-spoken, very-much-in-earnest physician. Perhaps it did. The author has not yet declared himself. The statement on economic independence is an interesting bit of bubble-pricking, and the few pages on "woman's virtue" ought to be read by girls and women everywhere—and more than once.

If you are the type of woman who must be fed on sweetmeats, I dare say you will object to the book; if you are the type that shrinks from strong, unpolished, plain statements you will object to the book; if you are a different type—as Protest women are—you will say, "It is good, hard sense; it ought to make both men and women think," and you will send it out after its own fashion to help the work which is drawing from us all every bit of mental and spiritual force which we can spare.

GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN.

## Disregard of the Conventions and Woman's "Freedom"

(The Detroit Saturday Night, Nov. 1, 1913)

**W**ILLIAM WINTER, the veteran dramatic critic, says so well what we have repeatedly tried to say about woman suffrage in somewhat milder language that we quote him here. He is commenting in his book, *The Wallet of Time*, on woman's freedom as it is presented in Sudermann's play, *Magda*:

The conventions of society, right or wrong (and manifestly they are the best that have thus far been adopted or suggested), are the conventions on which it is conducted; and the sooner the subject of harlotry is dis severed from the demand of woman for political and social freedom greater than that which she now possesses, the sooner her demand is likely to be satisfied, and the greater will be her good influence on society.

What Mr. Winter says about *Magda* is equally pertinent to the preachments of many feminist doctrinaires whose leadership in the suffrage movement still stands unquestioned. It is the continual emphasis put upon sexual freedom and sex antagonism by suffrage leaders, and tacitly accepted by the silence of all suffragists, that estranges from the cause of suffrage in every state thousands of men who might be won to it. Mrs. Pankhurst, for instance, is distributing in this country copies of *The Suf-*

*frage*, the English publication in which her unmarried daughter writes of "The Danger of Marriage" and "Plain Facts About a Great Evil." The New York police asked for warrants for the arrest of the women responsible for the sale of *The Suffragette* on the ground that it was obscene, but further action was halted when Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont assured District Attorney Whitman that the sale had been stopped. Unsold copies, it is reported by *The New York Times*, were taken west by Mrs. Pankhurst for distribution in this part of the country. Magistrate McAdoo, who read the offending literature, says:

"The object of the article appears to be to have women refuse to enter into the marriage state under present political and social conditions, and the arguments are based upon statements and statistics which would probably be disputed by doctors and statisticians."

We are not concerned here with the merits of the Pankhurst articles, nor with the merits of a marriage strike, which Mrs. Belmont herself once preached as a grim possibility. But we are much concerned to know whether the woman suffragists of Michigan believe in this sort of thing or not.



### Strong Opposition Develops in Nevada

**D**URING the month of October Miss Bronson and Miss Markeson made a whirlwind tour through the State of Nevada to get some idea of the attitude of the people of that State on the question of Woman Suffrage, which will come before the voters in November, 1914.

Reno, Carson City, Elko, Carlin, Winnemucca, Tonopah and Goldfield were visited, and organizations, one of men and one of women, effected in the State.

Miss Bronson spoke before large and enthusiastic audiences. At Carson City her audience numbered about 500 and the meetings at Winnemucca and Reno were as large.

She was introduced at Carson City by Senator Geo. T. Mills, at Reno by the Rev. Mr. Adams, pastor of the Baptist church, and at Winnemucca by the Hon. W. E. Brandon, Speaker of the last House of Representatives.

Everywhere a strong sentiment exists against the proposed measure and both Miss Markeson and Miss Bronson express the belief that Nevada will defeat Woman Suffrage at the polls.

Miss Bronson says that the Nevadans realize that there is nothing they can do which will attract the attention of the world more than this, and especially will this be true of capital seeking investment, for such defeat would serve to advertise to the world that Nevada, although surrounded by Suffrage states, has a safe, sane and stable government and is not to be swept from its feet by every political wind that blows.

### Nevada Newspaper Resents Suffrage Attack

**T**HE following editorial appeared recently in *The Western Nevada Miner* of Mina, Nevada:

#### ANNE MARTIN METHODS.

Recently Miss Minnie Bronson, of New York, who is an anti-suffragist, delivered several lectures in Nevada against the further extension of woman suffrage. Notwithstanding that the suffragists opened their campaign in this State with an OUTSIDER, the entrance of Miss Bronson has roused the ire of the militant president of the Nevada equal franchise society and in the press bulletin prepared and sent out by her, or under her orders, she attacks virtually the character of Miss Bronson in the following paragraph that would put to blush some of the cheap mud-slinging politicians of Nevada:

"The appearance of a New York anti-suffragist in Nevada, Miss Minnie Bronson accompanied by a Miss Clara Markeson, UNDER THE OBVIOUS TUTELAGE OF THE VESTED AND VICIOUS INTERESTS, was expected. This anti-suffragist made a name for herself in

the Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, California and Oregon campaigns by her conscienceless attacks on the results of woman suffrage, nay, on woman herself, in these several campaigns."

And still we are told that the admission to franchise of this brand of female politicians is going to elevate and uplift the morals of our political life. It was for less than the insinuations masked in the above paragraphs that the militant and condoning Anne, only a few months ago threatened Booth of the Tonopah Bonanza with a libel suit. Miss Bronson, against whom this insinuation is made, is a real American girl and few women in the east have laboured more earnestly or accomplished more in bettering the conditions of the working girls than she. True it is that she never so far forgot her Americanism as to ape the cockneys of England by carrying a dinkey little cane; neither was she arrested by London bobbies for engaging in female Hooliganism in London; nor has she ever "condoned" the insane and criminal vandalism of Pankhurst breeds against innocent and defenseless people. Miss Bronson made a splendid impression on her lecture tour in Nevada, and it will take a great deal more than the mud-slinging and wild-eyed antics of the militant president of the suffragists to overcome the impression she made on the minds of the voters of Nevada.

### The Federal Amendment

**S**IXTY-FIVE woman suffragists from New Jersey visited President Wilson at the White House. They asked that a clause supporting the woman's suffrage amendment to the Federal constitution be made a part of the forthcoming Presidential message.

While the visitors had not made an engagement in advance, they were very promptly received by Mr. Wilson. Since the women of California and Illinois threw their hats into the ring, the suffragette cause is not one to be taken lightly by anyone prominent in national politics.

In these days of enthusiasm for direct popular rule, when the initiative and referendum have been adopted in so many States, the proposal to have woman suffrage adopted nationally by action of Congress and part of the State Legislatures seems more or less an anomaly. Take the case of Ohio, for instance. The people of this State have already rejected a woman's suffrage amendment to their State constitution by a decisive vote. The question can be brought up again any time the suffragists desire—and they need to win only once, perhaps after many trials, to make their victory permanent. But it does not seem fair to have suffrage shoved down the throats of the people of Ohio by congressmen and legislators resident in Oregon and Kansas. (Cincinnati Times-Star)

### Colorado Suffragist Hopes for Vote's Recall

(From *The Detroit Free Press*)

Ann Arbor, Mich., October 14.—

**"I** WORKED very hard to get the franchise for women in Colorado, and since 1894, when it was granted, I have voted, but were the question put to a vote in Colorado to-day whether or not to continue to grant the franchise to women I would vote to recall it and fully half the women in Colorado would vote the same as I."

It was Mrs. Anna Kelley, of Grand Junction, Col., one of the foremost workers to bring about suffrage in that state, who made this remarkable statement to-day, a statement that is even more remarkable when it is remembered that Mrs. Kelley is the mother of Eugena Kelley, the one woman suffrage delegate to the Democratic National convention last summer.

"I, too, felt at first that the franchise for women would be a great thing," said Mrs. Kelley. "I believed politics would be purified, the world would be better. To-day I know the conditions in my own state are not bettered after 19 years of equal franchise. Nineteen years is a long enough time to try it out. I believe the conditions which women's votes were to eliminate, or at least better, are worse to-day than they were before 1894."

"After 20 years of observation I can truthfully say that a bad woman sells her vote as quickly as a bad man, and I believe she is to be bought more readily. A woman can vote more often than can a man."

"That statement is not hearsay but personal knowledge. When the franchise for women was young in Colorado, I had worked very hard to bring it about and as a sort of reward I was made one of the registration officers in Denver. There were 42 names registered as from one house. I investigated and found but two voters in the house. From another house seven women were registered. I suspected that only one woman lived there."

"Representing myself as an agent for cosmetics and laces I went to the house and sold an order to the inmate. I told a hard luck story. She had been drinking, I suppose, and was talkative. She took pity upon my poverty and told me how I could earn a pretty penny at the polls. My heart almost stopped beating, for right here was the information I wanted. She told me she had registered from her ward seven times, under as many different names—names of women who had been inmates of her house up till a short time before and had left when the hard times came. She was to vote seven times, and she even showed me her disguises and told me who paid for her votes."



### What Mrs. Pankhurst's Trip Accomplished

MRS. PANKHURST has come and gone and it cannot be said that her tour gave the advocates of the movement cause for rejoicing. She created less enthusiasm than on any previous invasion of any of the Pankhurst trio. Her meetings for the most part were poorly attended. Her methods of self-advertising and the salacious literature sold by her adherents were chiefly responsible for the packed meetings held in New York the day before her departure. She made few converts to the cause.

And yet Mrs. Pankhurst succeeded in her mission, for she jubilantly announced that she was taking back 20,000 good American dollars to carry on her campaign of reckless and degrading lawlessness against organized society. This must have left a sore spot in the hearts of many a suffrage leader who thus saw money diverted from the work in this country to be used in a campaign which the wisest among them must realize is doing the American suffrage movement irreparable harm.

It must also have been a source of some concern to those charity workers of this city who acknowledge sorrowfully that we are facing one of the hardest winters in the history of organized charity. Not all of that money would have found its way to the relief of our charity workers, but much of it would have been available and many a poverty-stricken household would have had the means to weather the storm; many a forlorn child would have had a plentiful thanksgiving and a happy Christmas; many a poor widow would have had her burdens lightened if Mrs. Pankhurst had remained at home. Charity workers who are suffragists must be sighing over the "High Cost of Suffrage."

The New York Sun comments editorially: "The gentle being, 'female of sex,' it seems, who was introduced at Carnegie Hall Monday night as 'the greatest woman of our time and of all time'—greater than the Browning—leaves this country to-day. The visit has done her good; \$2,500 of good Monday night alone, and the extravasation of blood in her language seems to have been reduced during her stay on good behavior. She has behaved singularly well, for her. She even promises that she will not encourage murder in her 1914 campaign, for which she asks the surprisingly modest sum of \$150,000. How much of this goes for salaries we are not informed.

"It is a pleasure or a disappointment, according to the point of view, to know that none of the American or British contributions to this holy war will be used for murder. This looks like weakness, but some concession must be made to the prejudices of a sentimental age. Dwell rather

with fond anticipation on the playful little arsons, the beautiful assaults, the spirited spoliation of parks and pleasure grounds, the destruction of national monuments, the whole treasury of gay and innocent recreation which is on the programme.

"Praying that the ocean may be as gracious as the creature it is to have the honor of transferring to our rejoicing British brethren, let us bid her a sorrowful good-by. It would be churlish to grudge to a friendly nation the return of this national treasure."

### Oratory vs. Reason

(Editorial in *Hartford Times*).

WHATEVER may be the opinion of Mrs. Pankhurst's physical activities on her native heath it must be conceded that as a public speaker she possesses notable qualities of logic, coherence and restraint. Her address at Parsons' on Thursday evening was an unusually effective bit of special pleading. Her facts were carefully marshaled, her sequences well preserved, her comparisons apt and her argument convincing—always provided, of course, that the original premise was admitted.

Few of the male speakers whom we send forth in time of political crisis reveal as clear mental grasp of their subject, as intelligent understanding of their purpose or as high ability in frank appeal to their auditors. Mrs. Pankhurst's speech and Mrs. Pankhurst's personality would be, if isolated, powerful in creating the impression that both justice and wisdom demanded votes for women. One can easily understand the attitude of James Montgomery Flagg, who declared that if the power lay with him he would incline toward granting her the ballot simply because she wanted it so much and wanted it so prettily.

But one finds strange and not altogether pleasing the spectacle of the well-conducted women of Hartford publicly exalting a female orator who openly advocates the violation of the criminal laws of her highly civilized country, who is now a duly and legally sentenced convict of that country and whose offenses can be condoned to the extent of her social and friendly recognition only upon acceptance of the theory that it is commendable for an individual to break the laws of society when the laws of society do not meet with that individual's approval.

The eager acceptance of Mrs. Pankhurst's doctrines coupled with the tacit endorsement of such literature as was circulated here in copies of *The Suffragette* go far to strengthen a hitherto weak doubt as to the capabilities of the feminine mind for grasping the purposes and necessities of government and to dissipate the excellent impression made upon the platform by Mrs. Pankhurst herself and made in their work for the franchise by the women of America.

### Do American Suffragists Favor Militancy?

AT a Thanksgiving rally of the Woman's Suffrage Party at Carnegie Hall on November 19th, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the International President, said:

"I don't believe in War. We are appealing to constitutional methods. But if we are sold out at the polls I warn you that we will not endure it."

"This sentiment was wildly applauded," says the *New York Times*, "though it was by far the most militant thing Mrs. Catt has ever said."

We are told repeatedly that the Suffragist in the United States has no sympathy with militant methods and yet the reception of Mrs. Pankhurst by all classes of Suffragists argues, at least, that they are not opposed to methods she employs.

The *Evening Sun* of November 26th says: "Her more timid followers in this country are fond of quoting her as declaring that she does not approve of militancy in America, and they have an adroit way of turning this saying into a compliment to the superior intelligence of American men. But Mrs. Pankhurst puts it differently. It is not necessary for you to fight, she says in effect, because we English women are fighting for you. In short, she evidently looks on the American agitators as an amiable but somewhat tame and spiritless lot whose best service to the cause consists in supporting the more daring heroines of the W. S. P. U. It would be idle to deny that this attitude of superiority has created a certain antagonism among some of the more active leaders over here, who do not like to be regarded as mere auxiliaries in the service of 'the greatest woman of our time and of all time.' Mrs. Pankhurst had enough insight to see that it would not do to treat her hostesses too loftily, so she made it plain the other night that those who contributed money had a perfect title to be counted among the greatest. 'And where,' she asked, 'is the rich woman who will distinguish herself by contributing a sum that will cause her to be called the Emancipator of her Sex?' The rich women at this point turned away sorrowfully, and none put in a claim for the title. They all knew, perhaps, that in point of fact that title is a monopoly most jealously guarded by the Pankhurst family. For the rest it will be some comfort to the American ladies who put their dollars in the plate yesterday to feel when they hear of the deeds and prowess of Sylvia's army of thugs and outcasts that they have helped to build it up, and to be assured whenever they read of a fire or a peppery assault on a Cabinet Minister that they are, as it were, heroines by proxy."



### The "First Free and Fearless Public Discussion"

MRS. PANKHURST was quite as successful in the sale of the *Suffragette* and its damaged morals as in her efforts to collect money. It is true that for a time it looked as if the forces of decency would succeed in suppressing it, but when a bevy of pretty girls is given the task of selling goods, whether it be a tag on tag day, a vote on election day, or a sheet of doubtful morals on Pankhurst day, who is going to say nay?

The *New York Times*, of Nov. 26, thus comments upon the meeting at the Eltinge Theatre:

The performance was advertised as "the first free and fearless public discussion of the social evil." Fearless it may have been; but it was not free. The price of admission was \$1, \$2 and \$3 a seat.

Long before the house began to fill up, women vendors of papers elbowed their way past Capt. Conboy and policemen from the West Thirty-seventh Street Police Station, detailed for duty at the theatre, announcing that they had for sale "suppressed copies of *The Suffragette*," containing Christabel Pankhurst's "free, frank and fearless" discussion of the social evil. The management of the theatre, with a care to its license, they were told, objected to their selling the publication on the pavement in front of the theatre or within. So they rented a vacant store just across the street and sold their wares there.

Capt. Conboy, when asked, said he couldn't stop them, and Anthony Comstock, much to the disappointment of the press agent of the undertaking, didn't show up at all. The speakers at the meeting called Mr. Comstock various names, ranging from "a wooden-faced man" to "an idiot." There were easily ten women to one man in the audience, which altogether numbered about 600.

And the *Sun*, of Nov. 26, says:

There was what the *High School Hebdominal* calls a wealth of oratory at the Eltinge Theatre yesterday afternoon, inside and out.

Ben-Reitman of *Mother Earth* fame was droning in front of the theatre from between the eaves of his sombrero and the fluffy folds of his flowing Socialist necktie: "Emma Goldman's 'Argument Against Chastity,' only ten cents."

Upton Sinclair made exactly six speeches during the afternoon inside the Eltinge.

Norman Hapgood followed Upton and the whole programme led up to the last speaker, Mrs. Pankhurst, so that there should be no anti-climax.

And "Suppressed copies of the *Suffragette*, only ten cents," came in high soprano notes on the sidewalk from the girls under Miss Joan Wickham, who were getting rid of the last of the stock before

Mrs. Pankhurst's sailing time, which is to-day. Furthermore there were addresses by others than Norman Hapgood, speakers so noted that Chairman Upton Sinclair confessed in the first of his six speeches of the afternoon that among the orators would be "some who are better known than myself."

Emma Goldman was persuaded not to speak against chastity by being told gently that with Messrs. Hapgood and Sinclair, Mrs. Pankhurst and two or three others even as well known as Upton on the stage there wasn't room for a chair for her.

Manager Arthur Barney told eager saleswomen who wanted to peddle the book among the audience, which filled about two-thirds of the orchestra chairs, half of the balcony, all of the top gallery, that Mr. Woods was positively shocked at the mere mention of selling the work in his theatre.

So before the speeches started Upton and some of the girls raced across the street and rented a vacant store for an all afternoon sale of Miss Pankhurst's book and some other volumes on the same general topics that Upton, Norman and the others were telling the ladies about over in the theatre.

Dr. Frederic C. Howe, a social worker, and Dr. James P. Warbasse also discussed matters with a frankness that made the young girl ushers employed in the theatre open their eyes wide.

### "Two Voids that Ache as One"

(From *The New York Evening Sun*.)

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 11.—Dr. Henry S. Tanner, champion faster of the world, is about to propose marriage to Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. "I'm quite in earnest," said Dr. Tanner to-day. "I became interested in Mrs. Pankhurst through her hunger strike and couldn't keep her out of my mind." —*News despatch.*

Come starve with me and be my love,  
And we will all the pleasures prove  
That lie in spurning bread and meat—  
Be mine, be mine, and cease to eat!

And we will set upon the rocks  
And see the shepherds feed their flocks;  
But naught down thy esophagus  
Shall pass, O dame abstemious!

By shallow rivers, to whose falls  
Melodious birds sing madrigals,  
We'll have our luncheon on the sound  
The waves make as they swish around.

A belt of straw and ivy buds  
I'll give to thee in place of spuds—  
We'll dine upon the sunset's ray,  
O heroine of Holloway!\*

The shepherd swains shall dance and sing  
At breakfast time each May morning—  
If this menu thy heart can move,  
Come starve with me and be my love!

\*Some choose the broad way that leads to destruction.

Some the primrose way that leads to the everlasting bonfire.

But Mrs. Pankhurst chose the hollow way that leads through famine up to fame.

### How Militant Tactics Arouse Hostility

(*London Daily Mail*.)

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, receiving a deputation from local members of the National Union of Women's Suffragettes Societies at Swindon yesterday, was severe in his condemnation of militancy. He said it had "ruined this Parliament as far as the suffrage is concerned."

He had been, he said, a convinced supporter of woman suffrage for a considerable number of years. In 1906 there was a huge majority in Parliament for it; but in the last two sessions they had decreased. They could depend upon it that, on the whole, especially in a movement like the women's movement, Parliament represented the temporary mood of the nation.

The effect of militancy had been enormous. It had converted indifference into something like bitter hostility. He could see that in his own constituency.

"For the moment they (the militants) have created a situation which is the worst I have ever seen for woman's suffrage in Parliament. It is all very well to blame the Prime Minister. He has been quite frank about this question. He is against it, but he did what I think a great Liberal leader was bound to do."

"I am very glad," he went on, "to see the spirit of militancy is withering. It is the best move I have yet seen for the success of the movement."

He did not despair of a real measure of woman suffrage being carried in the country within a short time—"not in this Parliament, however. I think this Parliament has been ruined as far as the suffrage is concerned. It has been antagonized. Its mind is poisoned."

But if, at the next election, the women were well organized and would present their case in a way that showed they were capable of self-restraint—the first test of their fitness for self-government—he was sure they would be able to make an impression at the polls.

The University undergraduates who wrecked the Suffragists' shop in Queen's-road, Bristol, and publicly burned some of the wreckage, yesterday again attacked the premises. The shop had been boarded up, and two women were noticed inside trying to recover the papers. The news reaching the University, 300 students rushed out, drove the women off with eggs, tore down the boarding, and completed the work of wreckage.

Reprisals by the Suffragists are feared, and special police and watchmen have been engaged to guard the University.



### The Supreme Asset of Womanhood

**I**N a recent address a prominent English clergyman remarked that "the intuitive respect of men for women is the supreme asset of womanhood, and nothing in the world could atone for the loss of it."

And that is absolutely true. Persistence of women, with the general approval or even condonement of their sex in what are known as the militant methods of the suffragettes, may be the first step toward the reduction of women to their pristine condition under savagery, when they were mere chattels of man.

That is doubtless an extreme way of stating the danger, for probably we shall not revert to any of the forms of cave life, but if women generally should follow the Pankhurst cult and methods until men really became enraged at the sex, there could be but one outcome to the contest.

That respect of men for women is hard to break down is shown by the forbearance with which men deal with the militant suffragettes for dastardly and senseless crimes, which, if committed by men, would lead to immediate and condign punishment. Arson is arson whoever commits it, and as for the "hunger strike," it may require little more provocation to induce men to say, "hunger strike if you will and take the consequences."

Women will be freely given the vote everywhere when the majority of women say they want it. It is given in this and many other states and countries in the full knowledge that the majority of women do not want it and will not vote if they can.

Men know that the elective franchise carries with it very onerous duties, which ought not to be neglected by those who possess the franchise, and reluctance to grant the right is not due to disregard or disrespect for women, but to the tenderest regard and the deepest respect.

And it is this regard and respect, which is the noblest possession of women, that is gravely endangered by the militant methods.

### The Mistake of Trying to Explain It

**T**HE suffragette leaders made the great tactical blunder of their campaign when they condescended to give reasons for the faith that was in them. In the first place it was a departure from the time-honored precedent which absolved women from the necessity to give, or even to possess, reasons for their actions. In the second place it transfers the conflict from that region of the sentimental to that

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of the intellectual. The great principle of obedience to the feminine behest had been firmly ingrained in the male American mind. To hear and to obey had become indivisible parts of the whole duty of man. If women had based their demand for the suffrage upon the simple fact that they wished it, probably all would have been well with the cause, seeing that submission had already become automatic and instinctive. But to advance a reason for their demand, other than the all-sufficient reason of "because" was a departure of so radical a nature, so daring an invasion of the polemical field, that men were startled into resistance. That women should thus abandon their own weapons of unreason that had never yet failed them, that they should adopt the mental armory of the less interesting sex, was no less than an invitation to conflict.

And so we are told that the vote is needed by women in order that they may remedy the legal inequalities under which they now suffer.—(From the *Argonaut*.)

### Do American Women Agree with This?

**C**ICELY HAMILTON, the English Suffragette, explains the true meaning of the suffrage movement from an English standpoint when she writes:

"The drawing-room, then, as our fathers and mothers understood it, was a well-appointed pen where you herded your women till you wanted them; and, as such, it flourished and existed till the advent of what is known as the woman's movement. This may be defined as the endeavour—the largely successful endeavour—of the modern woman to push herself into places which the ancient man would rather keep her out of. One of these places is Parliament, to which she has not yet attained the right of entry. But if she has failed in that respect she has succeeded in many others; and one by one she is breaking the barriers which man has erected to keep her from following him about. So far from displaying symptoms of sex hatred the modern woman is characterised by an eager desire for the companionship of the other sex, a firm determination to see much more of man than her foremothers used to do. Not even his grumbling can prevent her from taking a job in his office; not even his annoyance will keep her from sharing his games and his pleasures. Firmly and with affectionate persistence she thrusts her companionship upon him; firmly and with affectionate persistence she declines to leave his side. So far from feeling insulted by latter-day feminine developments every clear-thinking man must be gratified by the latter-day feminine desire to accompany him wherever he goes—to his business, to his smoking-room, to his golf-green."

Bernard Shaw long ago summed up this idea in "Man and Superman." The late Mayor Gaynor also suggested it. It is, according to Miss Cicely Hamilton, merely the pursuit of man. This view is not attractive to American women.

### A Law that Does Not Benefit Women

(From the *San Francisco Chronicle*.)

**N**O more stupid law was ever enacted than the eight-hour law for women.\* Women have as much right to work as men and are perfectly competent to fix their own working hours. A healthy woman can work with impunity as many hours as a healthy man in work suitable for women to perform. If in certain factory occupations involving constant standing there is medical evidence showing that injurious results are common, a law can be enacted applicable to those occupations.

The absurdity of the law is felt very severely in the Catholic hospitals, where the nursing is mostly done by sisters, very few of whom are graduate nurses. These sisters have dedicated their lives to altruistic service to mankind, but the law says they must practise altruism but eight hours a day.

The evil is felt in all hospitals, and the result is that patients must pay for the services of graduate nurses even when undergraduates would answer every purpose and do answer them for eight hours a day. No hospital has undergraduate nurses in sufficient numbers for eight-hour shifts, nor could it accommodate so many.

There are many other occupations in which women are deprived by the operation of this law of the opportunity to earn money which they may greatly need.

And that, as a matter of fact, was the sole motive for getting the law enacted. We do not mean that it was the motive of the legislators. They knew nothing about the matter, but their mushy intellects made them easy marks for the astute and crafty manipulators, whose names nobody knows.

The women did not ask for the law and the working women do not want it, except in a few occupations. They do not want it in any occupation where payment is by the piece.

But the whole matter rests with the women. They have the vote. They can get what they want for their own sex. If they prefer to be listed as inferior beings unable to take care of themselves, they have that privilege.

\*A law urged by Suffragists.

An interesting side light on suffrage methods was exhibited at the meeting in Cincinnati which marked the organization of the Anti-Suffragists. The Suffragists employed a man and two women to stand outside the doors with illuminated banners bearing the words: "Down with Anti-Suffrage!" "Hurrah for Emmeline!" and "Votes for Women," while a small boy drew full attention to the exhibit by beating a tin pan.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

At the Pankhurst meeting in Washington recently Chas. Edward Russell, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr and Mrs. Inez Boissvain Milholland, all Socialists, received most of the applause. They were the only ones who were compelled to bow again. The next greatest applause was for Pankhurst.

In the last presidential election Roosevelt, who endorses Woman Suffrage, was defeated in the four states which had the ballot for the longest time. Wyoming (1869), Colorado (1893), Idaho (1896) and Utah (1896) voted against the strongest advocate suffrage had. They ought to know and, no doubt, had their private reasons.

Father Bernard Vaughan, says the Press Association, tells the following story of an experience in Paris:—A suffragette rushed at him, screaming, "Tell Bobs the Army will never be right till you give women more liberty." "Tell mothers," replied Father Vaughan, "the Army will never be right till they give us more infant-ry."

Mrs. Pankhurst indignantly declines an offer of marriage and says: "I'm a politician and am not considering such things." Still, many a politician has found time to consider such things in spite of the exacting demands of politics. If a lady cannot be a politician and consider such things let us head off this suffrage movement right away.

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF A. N. G. August 11, 1913.

The indifferent vote is increased under woman suffrage and the indifferent vote is the greatest menace to our democracy as it increases the power of the "controlled" vote. Women when enfranchised become a responsible part of the electorate and must be held as a contributing party to whatever legislation is enacted. If they vote they elect the legislators, if they do not vote, they are responsible as their votes might have elected legislators who would have voted for other measures. They can't get away from responsibility.

The decline of the birth-rate from 35 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000 during the last thirteen years among the miners of Montceau, in the colliery district of the centre of France, is the subject of an essay by Dr. Jacques Bertillon, which has been awarded a prize of £80 by the French Academy of Moral and Political Science.

Dr. Bertillon finds that this remarkable reduction of a birth-rate which was the highest in France to a level below the average of the whole country is due to

the spread of Socialistic principles. Its beginning dates from a strike in 1899. In 1901 a renewed strike of 101 days led to another marked drop in the birth-rate. (London Daily Mail)

At Northamptonshire Assizes a case was heard in which a man was charged with an assault upon a girl under sixteen. After the girl had given evidence, but before cross-examination had been concluded, Mr. Justice Rowlatt asked whether any order had been given to exclude women. A police inspector stated that the superintendent in charge had given such orders.

Mr. Justice Rowlatt: Then the superintendent has no power to give such orders. I am the master in this court. I wish this to be understood, it is not right that women should be excluded from the court when other women have to give evidence in these cases. If there are any women outside who wish to come in, let them do so.

Two or three women took advantage of the offer of his lordship.

"In the purely political field, indeed, I hold that we always shall be inferior to men for perfectly sufficient natural reasons; and that the Suffrage movement, should it succeed, would merely stereotype that political inferiority by providing men with a subordinate political material which they will soon learn to manipulate. But if we develop the alternative and co-ordinate powers of which I have spoken, leaving men to their proper tasks and responsibilities, and claiming our own, then, indeed, it seems to me we shall be serving the honor and dignity of women—laying down something that will have power 'to live and move and serve the future hour' when our brief lives have passed away."

—MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

The recent suffrage campaign in Harlem (New York), closed on Sunday afternoon, November 23, with a dance for the children of the neighborhood. One of the week's converts offered her Sunday afternoon for the benefit of the Cause, teaching the children the Tango. "That's the way," said one of the best known leaders of the suffrage cause, "cater to the needs of your district. We'll have all the mothers with us if we amuse the children every Sunday afternoon for them." The leadership of this Assembly District has been taken by the wife of a Baptist clergyman.

It is interesting to add in this connection that the Vice Committee of The International Purity Congress denounced the Tango in its report at Minneapolis, on November 10.

Senator Taggart of Kansas has solved a problem that has long been a bone of contention among the women who want the suffrage and those who do not, and has answered the plea of the Suffragists, "Just because you don't want to vote is no reason why I should be deprived of it."

He says: "We could give work to every man in New York, and to his wife. Our people are the richest people in the world with \$1,650 of wealth per head, and most of them have college educations. Our men have given votes to women and yet every harvest time we have to shout for help. We have room for eight million people and we have only one million and a half."

Now was there ever a more generous offer? Here is the chance for every suffragist in the land to get her own way without upsetting the lives and the work of the great majority of women who do not agree with her. Go to Kansas. There is money and work. There is plenty of room and there, above all, is that *summum bonum* of all suffragists—the woman's vote.

One Suffragist has already announced her intention to go in 1915—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Will she be the Moses of the exodus?

Extract from a letter written by a Michigan correspondent on the strike in northern Michigan, in September:

I wish I could write you a graphic account of the story. Of course they are having strikers' parades and the non-union men are suffering all kinds of insults and attacks. The strikers themselves, my sister said, marched and for the most part did nothing, but their wives and sisters followed several hundred strong, and reports of Billingsgate are mild in comparison to the language they used. Not only did they talk, but exposed their bodies; they also carried brooms dipped in filth and struck little children, who were carrying their fathers' dinners to them, with the brooms. Scenes from the French Revolution pale beside these. The things they did are unprintable and unwritable; but after getting us worked up to a high pitch of excitement, my sister turned to her friend and said: "And these are the women whom you wish to have vote; and they want to!" For a moment her friend had nothing to say. Then she asked my sister if she had seen these things and she said, "No! No woman saw them; it wouldn't have been safe for women on the street if they had wanted to be there; but the husbands of my friends saw them."



### THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

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